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# On the typology of Focus Phenomena

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## 0. Introduction

This paper discusses some aspects of the typology of the pragmatic function Focus within the framework of Functional Grammar. We will mainly concentrate on the following two questions:

- (a) what sorts or subtypes of Focus have to be distinguished if we want to adequately account for the variety of Focus-related constructions to be found in different languages ?
- (b) under what conditions do we have to assume the presence of more than one Focus within one construction ?

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 briefly sketches the status of the Focus function within FG. Section 2 more clearly defines the problems involved in questions (a) and (b). Section 3 summarizes the theory of Focus types developed by Watters (1979) in his description of Aghem. The influence of Watters' work will be evident throughout this paper. Section 4 discusses scope differences connected with the Focus function. Section 5 is concerned with the relations between Focus and Contrast: must these be seen as distinct phenomena, or can they be interpreted as subtypes of one focussing mechanism ? Section 6 presents a typology of the Focus function in terms of a number of relevant parameters. Section 7, finally, illustrates how more complex Focus constructions could be actually described according to the principles of FG.

The examples from different languages used in this paper were determined by the knowledge and interests which happened to be represented in our group. No attempt has been made to arrive at anything like a representative sample of languages. Obviously, our contribution is anything but definitive, as may be expected in this relatively unexplored area of linguistic organization.

## 1. The status of Focus in FG.

Consider the following question-answer pair:

- (1) A: What did John buy?  
B: John bought an umbrella.

According to the principles of FG, (1B) would in this context get the following underlying representation:

- (2) Past buy<sub>V</sub> (d1x<sub>1</sub>: John(x<sub>1</sub>))<sub>AgSubjTop</sub>  
(i1x<sub>j</sub>: umbrella(x<sub>j</sub>))<sub>GoObjFoc</sub>

The functional information contained in this representation tells us that John is the Agent, the Subject, and the Topic, and that an umbrella is the Goal, the Object, and the Focus of this construction. The pragmatic functions Topic and Focus were defined as follows (Dik 1978: 19):

Topic: the Topic presents the entity 'about' which the predication predicates something in the given setting.<sup>1</sup>

Focus: the Focus represents what is relatively the most important or salient information in the given setting.

Focus has been assigned to the Goal in (2), because that constituent contains the crucial information requested in (1A). A constituent with Focus function presents information 'bearing upon the difference in pragmatic information between Speaker and Addressee, as estimated by the Speaker.' (Dik 1978: 149). By uttering (1A) the speaker indicates that there is a difference between him and the addressee concerning the identity of the thing that John bought. The answer (1B) levels out this difference.

It seems safe to assume that the Focus function, in the general sense outlined above, is relevant to the organization of all natural languages. Languages differ, however, in the expressive devices which they use for signalling Focus in the actual form of linguistic expressions. These devices come in the following sorts:

- (i) intonational prominence: extra stress, higher tone;  
(ii) special constituent order: special positions for Focus constituents in the linear order of the clause;

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- (iii) special Focus marker  
from the rest of the  
(iv) special Focus constituent  
cally define a certain  
over the structure of  
pseudocleft construction

Different languages use some or none of these devices.

The above account of Focus, though too vague and unspecified to arrive at a more precise typology of Focus phenomena found in the present paper is to arrive at a more precise typology of Focus phenomena.

## 2. One Focus or more?

So far we have acted on the assumption that there is one Focus per predication, and that there is one Focus to be assigned. Both of these assumptions are simplifications of the facts to be dealt with.

2.1. More than one Focus per predication  
It is easy to see that it must be possible to assign more than one Focus to a constituent. In terms necessarily have Focus, and the constituent can be questioned within a single sentence.

- (3) Who ate what in the restaurant?

Similarly, in an answer to a question, the constituent to a questioned term in (3) must be assigned more than one Focus.

- (4) JOHN<sub>FOC</sub> ate CHILI<sub>FOC</sub> (in the restaurant).

From these examples it is clear that more than one constituent within a single sentence can have Focus. The assignment of Focus differs from the assignment of Topic.

- (iii) special Focus markers: particles marking off the Focus from the rest of the clause;
- (iv) special Focus constructions: constructions which intrinsically define a certain distribution of Topic and Focus over the structure of the clause, such as cleft- en pseudocleft constructions.<sup>2</sup>

Different languages use some or all of these devices in different combinations.

The above account of Focus, though probably not incorrect, is certainly too vague and unspecified to arrive at a correct understanding of the variety of Focus phenomena found in natural languages. The aim of the present paper is to arrive at a more detailed and differentiated picture of the typology of Focus phenomena.

## 2. One Focus or more ?

So far we have acted on the assumption that only one Focus is assigned per predication, and that there is only one, undifferentiated type of Focus to be assigned. Both of these assumptions will turn out to be incorrect simplifications of the facts to be accounted for.

### 2.1. *More than one Focus per predication.*

It is easy to see that it must be possible for more than one Focus function to be assigned to the constituents of a single predication: questioned terms necessarily have Focus, and many languages allow more than one term to be questioned within a single predication, as in:

- (3) Who ate what in the restaurant ?

Similarly, in an answer to a question such as (3), each term corresponding to a questioned term in (3) must be assigned Focus:

- (4) JOHN<sub>Foc</sub> ate CHILI<sub>Foc</sub> (in the restaurant)

From these examples it is clear that Focus must be assignable to more than one constituent within a single predication. In this respect Focus assignment differs from the assignment of semantic functions and syntactic



functions: functions such as Agent and Subject cannot be assigned to more than one constituent per predication.

Another difference between Focus and the other functions is, that Focus can be assigned to the predicate or to the predication as a whole, whereas the other functions are restricted to terms.

## 2.2. Parameters determining different types of Focus.

Focus was generally defined above as characterizing that part of a linguistic expression that contains what is relatively the most important or salient information within the given setting of use. Focus will usually relate to differences in the pragmatic information of speaker and addressee, as estimated by the speaker. There are different ways, however, in which a piece of information may be important or salient. Both informationally and syntactically, different sorts of Focus constructions may come out according to the different values that the Focus function may take along a number of parameters. These parameters, briefly outlined here, will return for further discussion in the course of this paper.

- (a) *Scope of the Focus*: is Focus assigned to the predication as a whole (or its truth value), or only to some constituent of the predication?

Consider the following examples:

- (5) John went to the market  
(6) John DID GO to the market  
(7) John went to the MARKET

(5) can be taken as a Focus-neutral assertion of a certain fact. In (6), the Focus is on the truth value of the predication as a whole. This construction could be used in a context in which the issue was whether or not it was the case that John went to the market, to assert emphatically that this was indeed the case. In (7), Focus is only on the Direction constituent. This construction can be used when the issue is not whether or not John went somewhere (that he went somewhere is presupposed in this case), but when the issue is where precisely he went.

Thus, scope differences of the Focus function lead to quite different types of linguistic expression. Comparable differences are found in other languages. Compare the equivalents of (5) - (7) in Bahasa Indonesia:

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- (8) Ali pergi ke pasar  
Ali go to market  
'Ali went to the market
- (9) Ali ADA PERGI ke pasar  
Ali exist go to market  
'Ali DID GO to the market
- (10) Ali pergi ke PASAR  
Ali go to market  
'Ali went to the MARKET

Notice that Bahasa Indonesia, a literal meaning of 'to exist', has the value of the predication as a

- (b) *Emphasis or Contrast*: the importance of a given constituent of information of that constituent in some other constituent with which contrast is expressed, or is it presupposed?

Consider the following examples:

- (11) John bought a TOYOTA  
(12) John bought a TOYOTA  
(13) John bought a TOYOTA

In (11), there is not necessarily a contrast of car: the speaker can use any car of the event described. In (12) and (13), there is a contrast with respect to the addressee. In the particular case of (12), the difference corresponding with (13) is that below, other languages do have

- (c) *Relation to pragmatic*: the constituent meant to fill

- (8) Ali pergi ke pasar  
 Ali go to market  
 'Ali went to the market' (Focus-neutral)
- (9) Ali ADA PERGI ke pasar  
 Ali exist go to market  
 'Ali DID GO to the market' (Focus on truth value)
- (10) Ali pergi ke PASAR  
 Ali go to market  
 'Ali went to the MARKET' (Focus on Direction)

Notice that Bahasa Indonesia, too, uses an emphatic auxiliary verb (with a literal meaning of 'to exist') in order to express Focus on the truth value of the predication as a whole.

- (b) *Emphasis or Contrast*: does the Focus merely emphasize the importance of a given constituent, or does it contrast the information of that constituent with the information given in some other constituent? In the latter case, is the constituent with which contrast is established contained in the same linguistic expression, or in some other linguistic expression, or is it presupposed?

Consider the following examples:

- (11) John bought a TOYOTA ! (you wouldn't believe it)
- (12) John bought a TOYOTA, not a VOLKSWAGEN !
- (13) John bought a TOYOTA ! (not a Volkswagen, as you seem to assume)

In (11), there is not necessarily a contrast with another specific type of car: the speaker can use (11) merely to emphasize the unexpectedness of the event described. In (12), there is an explicit contrast between two constituents contained in the same linguistic expression. And in (13), there is a contrast with respect to the presumed presupposition of the addressee. In the particular case of (11) and (13), English has no formal difference corresponding with emphasis versus contrast. As we shall see below, other languages do have such formal differences.

- (c) *Relation to pragmatic information of addressee*: is the Focus constituent meant to fill in, to expand, to restrict, or to replace

a given piece of information contained in the pragmatic information of the addressee?

Consider the following examples:

- (14) John went to the MARKET ('filling in')
- (15) John not only went to the MARKET, but also to the STORE ('expanding')
- (16) John didn't go to the MARKET, he only went to the STORE ('restricting')
- (17) John didn't go to the MARKET, he went to the STORE ('replacing')

The relevance of these distinctions will be discussed in section 6 of this paper.

- (d) *New or Given*: does the Focus present information new to the addressee, or does it select a salient item from among a 'given' set of possible items?

It is often assumed that Focus can only characterize information new to the addressee. There certainly is a strong correlation between Focus and 'new information'. Indeed, how could information (assumed to be) 'given' to the addressee constitute the most important or salient information contained in a linguistic expression?

However, consider the following exchange:

- (18) A: What did John and Bill finally decide on?
- B: JOHN bought a TOYOTA and BILL a VOLKSWAGEN

In (18B), both *John* and *Bill* have Focus, although these constituents in themselves do not contain new information. What one could say in such a case, of course, is that the relations *John - Toyota* and *Bill - Volkswagen* are (presumed to be) 'new' to the addressee, and that this explains the Focus distribution in this case. We return to this matter below, in section 5.

- (e) *Exhaustive or not*: is the information transmitted meant to be exclusively true of the focussed item, or does it leave open the possibility that it may be true of other items as well?

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Consider the following examples:

- (19) JOHNSON voted against
- (20) It was JOHNSON who v

In (19) it is emphatically asserted. This assertion is compatible with the fact that Johnson has not yet voted against the bill. (20) indicates that Johnson was the one who voted against the bill. The latter sort of Focus is what K. Focus.

2.3. *Multiple Focus and differ*  
It is evident from the above that 2.1. and 2.2. are interrelated. Focus constituents in a single sentence, as in:

- (21) John didn't buy a TO

Here, there is Focus on both *John* and *TOYOTA*. These constituents function contextually to remove information from the previous context. The latter is used to insert new information. Conversely, a given type of Focus is used within one predication, as in

- (22) JOHN bought a TOYOTA

An adequate theory of Focus will have to take these facts into account.

## 3. Watters' analysis of Focus

3.1. *Summary of the analysis*.  
In his analysis of Focus phenomena, Watters (1979) distinguishes between two types of Focus constructions in this language:

Consider the following examples:

(19) JOHNSON voted against the bill

(20) It was JOHNSON who voted against the bill

In (19) it is emphatically asserted that Johnson voted against the bill. This assertion is compatible with the possibility that others may also have voted against the bill. (20), however, will normally be used to indicate that Johnson was the only person who voted against the bill. This latter sort of Focus is what Kuno (1972) has called 'exhaustive listing' Focus.

### 2.3. Multiple Focus and different Focus types.

It is evident from the above discussion that the questions discussed in 2.1. and 2.2. are interrelated in several ways. When there are different Focus constituents in a single predication, these may be of different types, as in:

(21) John didn't buy a TOYOTA, he bought a VOLKSWAGEN

Here, there is Focus on both *Toyota* and *Volkswagen*, but these Focus constituents function contextually in different ways: the former is meant to remove information from the pragmatic information of the addressee, the latter is used to insert new information into that pragmatic information. Conversely, a given type of Focus may lead to multiple Focus constituents within one predication, as is the case in 'parallel' constructions such as:

(22) JOHN bought a TOYOTA and BILL a VOLKSWAGEN

An adequate theory of Focus will have to account for these interrelationships.

## 3. Watters' analysis of Aghem.

### 3.1. Summary of the analysis.

In his analysis of Focus phenomena in Aghem, a Grassfields Bantu language of Cameroon, Watters (1979) demonstrates that the following Focus types must be distinguished in order to account for the syntactic properties of Focus constructions in this language.



## Types of Focus in Aghem:

- a. *Unmarked Focus*: occurs when the focus or foci are not formally marked on the surface, the sentence having the basic word order. Example: *Inah gave fufu to his friends.*
- b. *Assertive focus*: that information which the speaker believes, assumes or knows the hearer does not share with him or her. Example: *Inah gave FUFU to his friends.*
- c. *Counter-assertive focus*: that information which the speaker substitutes for information which the hearer asserted in a previous utterance. Example: *Inah gave FUFU (not yams) to his friends.*
- d. *Exhaustive listing focus*: that information which the speaker asserts is unique in the sense that the rest of the sentence is true only with respect to it and false with respect to all other units of information which could be appropriately substituted for it in the sentence. Example: *Inah gave FUFU ONLY (and nothing else) to his friends.*
- e. *Polar focus*: the truth value 'true' or 'false' which the speaker asserts concerning a proposition. Example: *It is TRUE/THE CASE that Inah gave fufu to his friends = Inah DID give fufu to his friends.*
- f. *Counter-assertive polar focus*: the truth value 'true' or 'false' which the speaker asserts, contradicting the hearer's previous utterance concerning the truth value of the sentence. Example: *It is TOO the case/true (contrary to your denial) that Inah gave fufu to his friends = Inah DID TOO give fufu to his friends.*

(this is from Watters 1979: 177).

The Focus mechanisms of Aghem are rather complicated in detail, but the following summary gives the basic principles. Aghem uses the following devices for expressing Focus types: (a) constituent order, (b) a special Focus-bound completive Past tense marker, (c) a special Focus marker, (d) the cleft construction.

The basic functional pattern of the clause can be represented as:

(23) S Aux Pb V Pa O X

Especially important for Focus are the 'special positions' Pb (immediately before the verb) and Pa (immediately after the verb). Of these two, Pa is the main position for Focus terms. In this respect, Aghem deviates in an interesting way from the more common pattern in which the clause-initial position P1 is used for these purposes.

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The main rules for the expression of

- (i) any Focus term, whether to Pa.
- (ii) when the Focus term in non-Focus, non-Subject necessarily part of the Focus term in that case simply asserted.
- (iii) when the Focus term in a dummy Subject in the Focus terms in the are alternatively be placed a construction with mu Focus can only be expressed Focus and thus in Pa.
- (iv) there is one neutral a tense marker. When the the value of the predicate
- (v) when in the same condition in Pb so that the verb Counter-asserted polar
- (vi) when the special Focus to the right of and in 'Counter-asserted' to question already has value 'Exhaustive listing
- (vii) the cleft construction Focus.

We give one example for each of show how these principles work:

a. *Unmarked focus* (Focus-neutral)

- (24) fíl á mō zí l  
 friends SM Past eat  
 'The friends ate fufu  
 Comment: neutral word order,



The main rules for the expression of Focus are as follows:

- (i) any Focus term, whether questioned or non-questioned, goes to Pa.
- (ii) when the Focus term in Pa is not the Subject, then up to two non-Focus, non-Subject terms may go to Pb; these are then necessarily part of the presupposition (or Topics), and the Focus term in that case is counter-asserted rather than simply asserted.
- (iii) when the Focus term in Pa is the Subject, then there will be a dummy Subject in the S position, and there may be other Focus terms in the area after Pa; up to two of these may alternatively be placed in Pb. In both cases, the result is a construction with multiple Foci. Notice that multiple term Focus can only be expressed when at least the Subject is in Focus and thus in Pa.
- (iv) there is one neutral and one Focus-signalling completive Past tense marker. When the latter is placed in Aux, Focus is on the value of the predication as a whole: Polar focus.
- (v) when in the same condition all verbal complements are placed in Pb so that the verb is in final position, the result is Counter-asserted polar focus.
- (vi) when the special Focus marker *nò* is placed after a constituent to the right of and including the verb, it adds the value 'Counter-asserted' to that constituent; if the constituent in question already has this value on other grounds, it adds the value 'Exhaustive listing'.
- (vii) the cleft construction is used for only exhaustive listing Focus.

We give one example for each of the Focus types cited under a-f above, to show how these principles work:

a. *Unmarked focus* (Focus-neutral):

(24) fɛl á mɔ zɛ kɪ-bé án 'sóm

friends SM Past eat fufu in farm  
'The friends ate fufu in the farm'

Comment: neutral word order, both Pa and Pb empty. SM = Subj marker.

b. *Assertive focus:*

- (25) á mō zī énáǎ bē-kō án 'sóm  
 DS Past eat INAH fufu in farm  
 'INAH ate fufu in the farm'

Comment: Subj-Focus in Pa, dummy Subj in S (= DS): assertive Focus on Subj.

c. *Counter-assertive focus:*

- (26) énáǎ mō án 'sóm zī á-lēm  
 Inah Past in farm eat YAMS  
 '(No), Inah ate YAMS in the farm'

Comment: Object in Pa, Locative term in Pb: Counter-assertive Focus on Object.

d. *Exhaustive listing focus:*

- (27) á mō lō bāǎtóm wēl 'á ò mō būǎ  
 DS Past be CHIEF this Rel he Past come  
 'It was the CHIEF who came'

Comment: cleft construction: Exhaustive listing focus on 'the chief'.

e. *Polar focus:*

- (28) éná má'á fūǎ bē-kō á fēn-ghō  
 Inah Past-Foc give fufu to friends  
 'Inah DID give fufu to his friends'

Comment: Focus Past marker rather than simple Past marker: Polar focus on predication.

f. *Counter-assertive polar focus:*

- (29) fēl á máǎ bē-kō zī  
 friends SM Past-Foc fufu eat  
 'The friends DID eat fufu'

Comment: Focus Past marker, Obj in Pb and verb in final position: counter-assertion of truth of predication.

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3.2. *Some comments on Watters' analysis* will become clear in the further discussion. Watters' distinctions are essentially of Focus phenomena. Some points require some modification. We find

- (i) We interpret 'unmarked Focus'. That is, we assume it does not relate in any way to the internal contrast function. Focus function is assigned to any part of the expression.
- (ii) We find the term 'Counter-type of construction' falling in precisely the same formation which the other part presupposition which the speaker has at the moment of speech. It is, not what the other has about the pragmatic information speaking. The construction is 'conditional' rather than 'Conditional'.
- (iii) Some distinctions made by Watters in some of his categories may be according to (a) the precise and (b) that which the speaker focuses to a given item in a list.

These points will be clarified in the next section.

4. *Scope differences.*

In 2.2. above we noted sub (a) that the Focus types concerns the scope of the predication as to what part of the predication. A predication consists of a predication terms, possibly extended with one

3.2. *Some comments on Watters' analysis.*

As will become clear in the further course of this paper, we believe that Watters' distinctions are essential to the development of a general typology of Focus phenomena. Some points in his analysis, however, would seem to require some modification. We mention the following points:

- (i) We interpret 'unmarked Focus' as being equivalent to 'absence of Focus'. That is, we assume that a linguistic expression which does not relate in any way to a presupposition of the addressee, and has no internal contrast either, is simply Focus-neutral: no Focus function is assigned either to the expression as a whole, nor to any part of the expression.
- (ii) We find the term 'Counter-assertive' less fortunate, because the type of construction falling under this label can be produced in precisely the same form in relation to (a) a specific assertion which the other participant has just made, or (b) a specific presupposition which the speaker assumes the addressee possesses at the moment of speech. The essential factor would thus seem to be, not what the other has just said, but what the speaker assumes about the pragmatic information of the other at the moment of speaking. The constructions involved are thus 'Counter-presuppositional' rather than 'Counter-asserted'.
- (iii) Some distinctions made by Watters must be further refined, because some of his categories may result in different construction types according to (a) the precise presuppositional conditions involved, and (b) that which the speaker wishes to achieve by assigning Focus to a given item in a linguistic expression.

These points will be clarified in the further course of this paper.

4. Scope differences.

In 2.2. above we noted sub (a) that one of the parameters differentiating Focus types concerns the scope of the Focus function: i.e., the question as to what part of the predication is operated upon by the Focus function. A predication consists of a predicate, applied to one or more argument terms, possibly extended with one or more satellite terms. Thus, we get the

following possible scope distinctions:

The scope of Focus is:

- (a) the predication as a whole;
- (b) some constituent(s) of the predication;
  - (b1) the predicate;
  - (b2) some term(s).

In respect to these scope distinctions, there are close connections between Focus and Negation, and this is no coincidence: Negation typically applies to some piece of information concerning which there is some (real or presumed) difference between the pragmatic information of the speaker and that of the addressee. Thus, what is negated is usually in Focus. We might thus distinguish between positive Focus and negative Focus. The main difference between these is, that negative Focus is always marked by some explicit segmental element in the clause, whereas positive Focus may lack such a segmental marker and may be solely expressed through constituent order and/or suprasegmental distinctions.

The scope differences distinguished above may thus be compared to such distinctions as between 'sentence negation' and 'constituent negation': in the former case, the whole sentence (or predication) is in the scope of Negation, in the latter case only some constituent of the predication (either the predicate or some term) is in the scope of Negation.

#### 4.1. Focus on the predication as a whole.

If the Focus is on the predication as a whole, it naturally concerns the illocutionary 'point' of the predication: if the predication is presented as an assertion, then the Focus will fall on the truth value of the assertion, as in:

(30) John DID go to the market

(31) John did NOT go to the market

In (30) it is emphatically asserted that John went to the market, in (31) it is emphatically denied that he did so. This is a case of Polar Focus in Watters' terminology.

If the predication is presented as an invitation or an advice (in which

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case truth value is not at stake) which such speech acts are preser

(32) DO come over for dinner

(33) DON'T give up !

Since Focus, when it has the who different values according to the cation occurs, we shall use the : type.

As Watters has shown for Aghem, whether the predication is emphatic Dutch, positive asserted Polar F phatic intonation), but positive by the emphatic particle *wél*, wh ism with negative Polar Focus, a

(34) A: Jan heeft zijn hu  
John has his hc  
'John has sold hi

B: Nee, hij heeft zi  
No, he has hi  
'No, he has NOT :

A: Ja, hij heeft zi  
Yes, he has hi  
'Yes, he HAS (inc

Thus, Polar Focus is a specific Focus is the positive counterpa gation; and the difference betw levant to both the status and t

#### 4.2. Focus on some constituent

When Focus is on some constitue the predicate or some term in i predicate or term negation. Thu the following examples:



case truth value is not at stake), the Focus will concern the force with which such speech acts are presented to the Addressee:

(32) DO come over for dinner !

(33) DON'T give up !

Since Focus, when it has the whole predication in its scope, may have different values according to the type of speech act in which the predication occurs, we shall use the neutral term Predication Focus for this type.

As Watters has shown for Aghem, Predication Focus may differ according to whether the predication is emphatically asserted or counter-asserted. In Dutch, positive asserted Polar Focus has no specific marker (except emphatic intonation), but positive counter-asserted Polar Focus is marked by the emphatic particle *wél*, which quite clearly brings out the parallelism with negative Polar Focus, as in the following exchange:

- (34) A: Jan heeft zijn huis verkocht !  
 John has his house sold  
 'John has sold his house !'  
 B: Nee, hij heeft zijn huis NIET verkocht.  
 No, he has his house NOT sold  
 'No, he has NOT sold his house'  
 A: Ja, hij heeft zijn huis WEL verkocht !  
 Yes, he has his house sold  
 'Yes, he HAS (indeed) sold his house'

Thus, Polar Focus is a specific type of Predication Focus; Predication Focus is the positive counterpart of what is usually called sentence negation; and the difference between assertion and counter-assertion is relevant to both the status and the expression of Predication Focus.

#### 4.2. Focus on some constituent of the predication.

When Focus is on some constituent of the predication, it can either have the predicate or some term in its scope. In both cases it correlates with predicate or term negation. Thus, Focus is on the Recipient term in all of the following examples:



- (35) John gave the book to PETER  
 (36) John gave the book to PETER, not to CHARLES  
 (37) John did not give the book to CHARLES

And in the following examples Focus is on the predicate:

- (38) John GAVE the book to Peter  
 (39) John GAVE the book to Peter, he didn't SELL it to him  
 (40) John did not GIVE the book to Peter

A characteristic of Constituent Focus is that it corresponds to a specific presupposition, which can be reconstructed by taking out the Focus constituent and replacing it by a variable (cf. Chomsky 1972, Jackendoff 1972). Thus, (35) connects with the presupposition 'John gave the book to someone': the only issue between Speaker and Addressee is the identity of the 'someone'. And (38) connects with the presupposition 'John did something with the book with respect to Peter'; the only issue is what precisely he did with the book.

Sentences with term Focus can typically be given as answers to term questions. Thus, (35) would be a correct answer to the question:

- (41) To whom did John give the book ?

In a similar way, we would expect constructions with predicate Focus, as in (38)-(40), to be correct answers to constructions in which the identity of the predicate is questioned. For some reason, however, most languages have no straightforward possibility of questioning the identity of predicates. E.g., if there is a presupposition of the form:

- (42) John Verb-ed the book to Peter

then there is, in English and many other languages, no straightforward construction of the form:

- (43) \*John what-ed the book to Peter ?

Instead, use has to make of circumlocutions such as:

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- (44) What did John do with the book ?

Thus, terms and predicates behave differently in these languages.

The non-questionability of predicate Focus is a property of languages.

Thus, Indonesian has three verbs 'what' which can serve to question the identity of the predicate: 'do what', *mengapa(apa)* 'to do what with something or somebody' (PASS stands for Passive):

- (45) A: Mengapa Ali di k  
 do what Ali at r  
 'What is Ali doing'  
 B: Menulis surat.  
 write letter  
 'Writing letters'

- (46) A: Kau-apai  
 you do what to  
 (This child is)  
 'What did you do?'

- B: Ku-pukuli  
 I hit (repeatedly)  
 (He was hit (repeatedly))

- (47) A: Hendak kau-apa  
 want you do  
 (What is going to happen?)  
 'What are you going to do?'

- B: Hendak ku-jua  
 want I sell  
 ((It) is going to be sold)  
 'I'm going to sell it'

- (44) What did John do with the book ? Did he GIVE it to Peter ?

Thus, terms and predicates behave differently under Question Focus in these languages.

The non-questionability of predicates, however, is not a universal property of languages.

Thus, Indonesian has three verbs derived from the question word *apa* 'what' which can serve to question the identity of the V: *mengapa* 'to do what', *mengapa(apa)i* 'to do what to somebody', and *mengapakan* 'to do what with something or somebody', as in the following examples (where PASS stands for Passive):

- (45) A: Mengapa Ali di kamar nya ?  
do what Ali at room his  
'What is Ali doing in his room ?'  
B: Menulis surat.  
write letter  
'Writing letters'
- (46) A: Kau-apai anak ini, hingga ia menjerit-jerit ?  
you do what to PASS child this so that he scream  
(This child is done what to by you so that he is screaming=)  
'What did you do to this child to make him scream ?'  
B: Ku-pukuli dia  
I hit (repeatedly) PASS he  
(He was hit (repeatedly) by me =) 'I gave him a beating'
- (47) A: Hendak kau-apakan buku ini ?  
want you do what with PASS book this  
(What is going to be done with this book by you =)  
'What are you going to do with this book ?'  
B: Hendak ku-jual pada Ali  
want I sell PASS to Ali  
((It) is going to be sold by me to Ali =)  
'I'm going to sell it to Ali'

#### 4.3. The distinction between term scope and predicate scope.

Although predicates in Indonesian can be questioned just like terms, it possesses other construction types which discriminate sharply between term scope and predicate scope. One of these is question formation by means of the particle *kah*.

Indonesian Yes-no questions can be formed by means of the question particle *kah*. Compare:

- (48) Ali membeli buku  
Ali buy book  
'Ali bought a book (or: books)'
- (49) Ali membeli buku kah ?  
'Did Ali buy a book ?'

The particle *kah* must have the predicate in its scope. It cannot have term-scope. This can be seen in the following way. In a construction type alternative to (48)-(49), the Subject and the predicate can appear in inverted order. This order gives Focus to the predicate:

- (50) Membeli buku, Ali  
'Ali did buy a book'
- (51) Membeli buku kah, Ali ?  
'DID Ali buy a book ?'

It is impossible, however, to get terms in front position with *kah*:

- (52) \*Buku kah, Ali membeli ?
- (53) \*Ali kah, membeli buku ?

A nominal can only be questioned by *kah* if it functions as a predicate, not as a term:

- (54) Ali guru  
Ali teacher  
'Ali is a teacher'
- (55) Ali guru kah ?  
'Is Ali a teacher ?'

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- (56) Guru, Ali !  
'Ali is a TEACHER !'
- (57) Guru kah, Ali ?  
'Is Ali a TEACHER ?'

Fronting with *kah* can thus be used a given constituent is a term or a relation to the analysis of the pseu

- (58) Ali (lah), yang membeli  
Ali Foc Rel buy  
'ALI (was the one) that

In this constructions Ali is the f with the Focus marker *lah*), and th clause. Consider now:

- (59) Ali kah, yang membeli  
'Was it ALI who bought t
- (60) Siapa (kah), yang membel  
'Who was it that bought

From these examples it is clear th cleft construction can be question be that this constituent function: term.<sup>3</sup>

#### 5. Focus and Contrast.

A recurrent problem in connection relationship between the notions of tion in this respect is: do we ne side of the pragmatic Focus funct of (specific instances of) Focus In part, the answer that one want of terminology and definition. We of a predication which contains i information in the given setting.

- (56) Guru, Ali !  
'Ali is a TEACHER !'

- (57) Guru kah, Ali ?  
'Is Ali a TEACHER ?'

Fronting with *kah* can thus be used as a criterion for determining whether a given constituent is a term or a predicate. This is interesting in relation to the analysis of the pseudo-cleft construction. Consider:

- (58) Ali (lah), yang membeli buku itu  
Ali Foc Rel buy book the  
'ALI (was the one) that bought the book'

In this constructions *Ali* is the focussed constituent (optionally marked with the Focus marker *lah*), and the rest has the properties of a relative clause. Consider now:

- (59) Ali kah, yang membeli buku itu ?  
'Was it ALI who bought the book ?'
- (60) Siapa (kah), yang membeli buku itu ?  
'Who was it that bought the book ?'

From these examples it is clear that the Focus constituent of the pseudo-cleft construction can be questioned by means of *kah*. The conclusion must be that this constituent functions as a predicate rather than as a nominal term.<sup>3</sup>

## 5. Focus and Contrast.

A recurrent problem in connection with Focus phenomena is the precise relationship between the notions of 'Focus' and 'Contrast'. The main question in this respect is: do we need a distinct device for Contrast by the side of the pragmatic Focus function, or can Contrast be handled in terms of (specific instances of) Focus assignment ?

In part, the answer that one wants to give to this question is a matter of terminology and definition. We have defined Focus as marking that part of a predication which contains its relatively most important or salient information in the given setting. This implies that there will always be



a certain contrast between the Focus part of the predication, which is 'foregrounded' in one way or another with respect to the 'backgrounded' rest of the predication. If the notion of contrast is used in this broad sense, then any type of Focus assignment will necessarily imply Contrast. But this is then a contrast between that which is focussed upon, as against that which is not focussed upon.<sup>4</sup>

'Contrast' is usually restricted, however, to the more specific case in which one piece of information, say X, is explicitly or implicitly opposed to some other piece of information, say Y, which stands in some specific relation of opposition to X in the given setting. This sort of Contrast is found in such patterns as the following:

- (61) A: It is the case that Y  
B: No, it is the case that X
- (62) It is the case that X, not Y
- (63) It is not only the case that Y, but also that X
- (64) X did V, but Y did W

From these examples it is clear that the contrast between X and Y may have different sources: B may counterassert X to an assertion Y of A; or the speaker may oppose X to a presumed presupposition Y. In these cases X is meant to correct the conversationally 'given' Y.

But Contrast may also be determined by factors internal to the linguistic expression as such, as in (64), where the speaker asserts two different things, V and W, about two different entities, X and Y.

If Contrast is used in the restricted sense with respect to an opposition between X and Y, then it follows that Focus does not necessarily imply Contrast: speakers can emphatically assert X without opposing it to an explicitly given or presupposed Y.

On the other hand, Contrast will necessarily imply Focus on X, and also on Y if Y is explicitly given in the expression. The opposition between X and Y is obviously sufficient to give both X and Y the status of 'most important or salient information'.

In this context it is useful to also consider the relations between Focus and Contrast on the one hand, and the notions 'New' and 'Given' information on the other.

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As we saw above, a constituent with information bearing upon the difference between speaker and addressee, as estimated clear, however, that this information is also Focus on information which is either to stress its importance in that information in the addressee. Thus Focus does not necessarily imply that information is new to the addressee. The same piece of 'new' information in information, the contrast may also be between two pieces of information. From this it follows that there is Focus or Contrast on the one hand.

#### 6. A typology of the Focus

Against the background of the various paragraphs, we shall now propose a function, based on the various subdivisions. This subdivision may be seen as of Focus, in the sense that it is Focus can manifest itself, with different ways are also coded in different languages. In order to arrive at Focus (i.e. a picture of which in grammatical oppositions), more visual languages will be required.

The distinctions that we think phenomena can be represented as

It is to be understood that (cized in the schema) are yet to be discussed in section 4. either with Focus on the predicate of the predication - and in the predicate or on a term. These our discussion of the differences



As we saw above, a constituent with Focus function is assumed to present information bearing upon the difference in pragmatic information between speaker and addressee, as estimated by the speaker. It is not immediately clear, however, that this information should necessarily be 'new' to the addressee in the given setting. It may certainly be, but the speaker may also Focus on information which he knows is not new to the addressee, either to stress its importance in the given setting, or to reactivate that information in the addressee's memory.

Thus Focus does not necessarily imply that the information focussed upon is new to the addressee. The same applies to Contrast. Although certainly a piece of 'new' information may be contrasted with a piece of 'given' information, the contrast may also be between two pieces of 'given' information, or between two pieces of 'new' information.

From this it follows that there is no simple one-to-one relation between Focus or Contrast on the one hand, and 'new' information on the other.

## 6. A typology of the Focus function.

Against the background of the various factors discussed in the preceding paragraphs, we shall now propose and discuss a subdivision of the Focus function, based on the various uses to which this function can be put. This subdivision may be seen as an attempt to get a picture of the 'etics' of Focus, in the sense that it distinguishes the various ways in which Focus can manifest itself, without necessarily implying that these different ways are also coded in different grammatical constructions in natural languages. In order to arrive at a clearer picture of the 'emics' of Focus (i.e. a picture of which of these distinctions are actually coded in grammatical oppositions), more research on the Focus systems of individual languages will be required.

The distinctions that we think are important for an understanding of Focus phenomena can be represented as in Diagram 1.

It is to be understood that the different terminal Focus types (italicized in the schema) are yet to be cross-classified for the scope differences discussed in section 4 above. Most Focus types distinguished occur either with Focus on the predication as a whole, or on some constituent of the predication - and in the latter case, either with Focus on the predicate or on a term. These scope differences will be illustrated in our discussion of the different types distinguished.

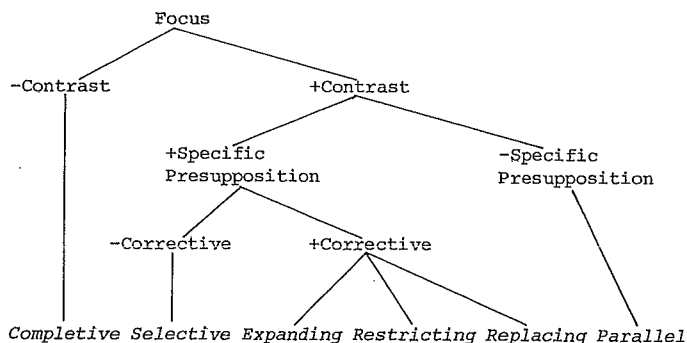


Diagram 1. A subdivision of Focus types.

As we saw in section 5, Focus can, but need not involve Contrast. If no Contrast is involved, then the Focus information can be seen as 'filling in' a gap in the pragmatic information of the addressee (Completive Focus). If there is Contrast, the Contrast established can either hold between the Focus information and a specific presupposition, or it can be determined by construction-internal factors, without any specific presupposition being involved. If a specific presupposition is involved, the Focus information can either be selected from an antecedently presupposed set (-Corrective), or it can be meant to bring about some modification in the pragmatic information of the addressee (+Corrective). These and the other distinctions made in the diagram will be clarified and illustrated below.

#### 6.1. Completive Focus

We speak of Completive Focus when the Focus information is meant to fill in a gap in the pragmatic information of the addressee. The clearest case of this is answers to Q-word questions. Thus, when someone asks:

(65) What did John buy ?

his partner can infer that he has the following presuppositional structure in his pragmatic information:

(66) John bought *x*; *x* = \_\_\_\_.

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Question (65) will be interpreted as in this presuppositional structure. When this question is answered by:

(67) John bought COFFEE

the Focus on COFFEE signals that this is meant to fill in the blank in (66), most important information in (67).

Completive Focus does not involve a presupposition, but not to a specificity of the unknown entity *x* in (66).

(67) is an example of Completive Focus. The predicate is found in the following

(68) A: What did John do with it?  
B: He SOLD it.

It is not immediately clear whether this is Completive Focus with respect to the exchange such as:

(69) A: Did John sell the book?  
B: He did.

From one point of view, (69A) could be seen as filling a presuppositional gap with respect to the truth of the book':

(70) It is *x* that John sold the book.

The answer could then be seen as filling the gap. It is clear, however, that there is a presuppositional structure in this regard, and Yes-no questions in this regard may be filled in with one of two values associated with the question

Question (65) will be interpreted as a request to fill in the blank with-  
in this presuppositional structure.  
When this question is answered by:

(67) John bought COFFEE

the Focus on COFFEE signals that this particular bit of information is  
meant to fill in the blank in (66), and is by virtue of that fact the  
most important information in (67).

Completive Focus does not involve any specific contrast. It relates to a  
presupposition, but not to a *specific* presupposition concerning the iden-  
tity of the unknown entity *x* in (66).

(67) is an example of Completive Focus on a term. Completive Focus on the  
predicate is found in the following exchange:

(68) A: What did John do with the book ?  
B: He SOLD it.

It is not immediately clear whether there is any application for the no-  
tion Completive Focus with respect to the whole predication. Consider an  
exchange such as:

(69) A: Did John sell the book ?  
B: He did.

From one point of view, (69A) could be analyzed as involving an informa-  
tional gap with respect to the truth value of the predication 'John sold  
the book':

(70) It is *x* that John sold the book; *x* = \_\_\_\_.

The answer could then be seen as filling in the blank with the value TRUE.  
It is clear, however, that there is a difference between Q-word questions  
and Yes-no questions in this regard: in the latter case, the blank can on-  
ly be filled in with one of two values, so that the presuppositional struc-  
ture associated with the question could just as well be given as:

- (71) It is *x* that John sold the book; *x* is TRUE or *x* is FALSE.

In that case the answer (69B) would *select* the value TRUE from among the presupposed possibilities, and the Focus would be of the Selective rather than of the Completive type.

### 6.2. Selective Focus.

We speak of Selective Focus when the Focus information selects one item from among a presupposed set of possible values. Consider the following example:

- (72) A: Did John buy coffee or rice ?  
 presupposition:  
       John bought *x*; *x* = coffee or *x* = rice  
 B: He bought COFFEE

The Focussed item in (72B) indicates that *coffee* is the correct value for *x*. Selective Focus involves Contrast in this sense that it explicitly or implicitly excludes the other presupposed value(s) as the correct value for *x*. If this is made explicit, we get constructions such as:

- (73) He bought COFFEE, not RICE

Thus, Selective Focus may involve two constituents with Focus, one selecting the correct value, and the other rejecting the incorrect value. But Selective Focus is not 'corrective' in the sense to be clarified below, because A's presupposition in (72) is not incorrect: it has to be specified rather than corrected.

Selective Focus on the predicate is found in a case such as:

- (74) A: Did John hire or buy that car ?  
 B: He BOUGHT it.

As for Selective Focus with respect to predication scope, compare the preceding section. In a case such as the following, we clearly have Selective Focus:

- (75) A: Did John buy the car or didn't he ?  
 B: He DID.

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Thus, explicitly disjunctive yes-no questions. The question of whether non-disjunctive questions are regarded in the same way is thus regarded. Questions must or must not be analyzed.

### 6.3. Replacing Focus.

We speak of Replacing Focus in case of automatic information of the addressee correct item.

Consider the following examples:

- (76) a. A: John went to London.  
       b. B: No, he didn't go.  
       c. No, he went to Paris.  
       d. No, he didn't go.  
       e. No, he went to New York.

It is clear that the full operation involves several steps: removing the incorrect information, providing the correct information (to New York), Rejection and the Correction, respectively. In (76b-e) we have the following patterns:

- (77) b. No, Rejection, Correction  
       c. No, Correction, Rejection  
       d. No, Rejection  
       e. No, Correction

In all these patterns, *no* indicates that the addressee believes that some automatic information. (76b) would seem to be replacing information. In (76c) the addressee then, as an afterthought, the Rejection sense: the addressee is told that the information, but he is not told what the information is. A typical reaction of A's in such a case is:

- (78) Well, where DID he go then?



Thus, explicitly disjunctive yes-no questions lead to Selective Focus. The question of whether non-disjunctive yes-no questions have to be regarded in the same way is thus related to the question of whether such questions must or must not be analyzed as implicitly disjunctive.

### 6.3. Replacing Focus.

We speak of Replacing Focus in cases in which a specific item in the pragmatic information of the addressee is removed and replaced by another, correct item.

Consider the following examples:

- (76) a. A: John went to London.  
 b. B: No, he didn't go to LONDON, he went to NEW YORK  
 c. No, he went to NEW YORK, not to LONDON  
 d. No, he didn't go to LONDON  
 e. No, he went to NEW YORK

It is clear that the full operation in this case involves two distinct steps: removing the incorrect information (*to London*) and substituting the correct information (*to New York*). These two steps we will call the Rejection and the Correction, respectively. We can then say that in (76b-e) we have the following patterns:

- (77) b. No, Rejection, Correction  
 c. No, Correction, Rejection  
 d. No, Rejection  
 e. No, Correction

In all these patterns, *no* indicates that the speaker does not agree with the addressee, and believes that something is to be corrected in his pragmatic information. (76b) would seem to be the most 'logical' form for replacing information. In (76c) the speaker first gives the Correction and then, as an afterthought, the Rejection. (76d) is not complete, in a sense: the addressee is told that something is wrong with his pragmatic information, but he is not told what he is supposed to substitute for it. A typical reaction of A's in such a situation could be:

- (78) Well, where DID he go then ?



On the other hand, (76e), though only giving the Correction, is complete in that the Correction presupposes the Rejection, which can be reconstructed on the basis of the Correction.

When a construction with Replacing consists of a Rejection followed by a Correction, both the rejecting and the correcting constituent carry Focus function, but the functionality of these two Focus constituents is quite different:

(79) Rejection	Correction
rejects information presumed to be presupposed	inserts information presumed to be correct
'announces' Correction	fulfills announcement
is incomplete without Correction	presupposes Rejection and is thus complete without explicit Rejection

The 'open' and 'announcing' character of the Rejection comes out quite clearly in a construction such as the following (Latin, Cicero):

- (80) ... cum ille dixisset non eum suā, sed  
 when he had-said not him by-his-own, but  
 patriae gloriā splendorem adsecutum  
 of-fatherland by-glory splendid having-achieved  
 reputation  
 '... when he had said that he had achieved his splendid reputation not through his own glory, but through the glory of his fatherland.'

In this construction the Rejection *non eum suā* must be interpreted along the lines of *non eum suā gloriā splendorem adsecutum* 'that he had not through his own glory achieved his splendid reputation'. In the shortened form in which the Rejection is given in (80), it is not only pragmatically 'incomplete' in the sense that it announces a Correction, but it is also grammatically incomplete in the sense that *non eum suā* would have been uninterpretable without the following Correction.

Although the Rejection is in principle incomplete without the following Correction, there are circumstances in which the content of the Correction can be fully or partially predicted on the basis of the Rejection. Consider:

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(81) The number I have in mind

(82) I have not painted my

In (81) the addressee may rightly 'odd', even when this is not marked of course due to the fact that 'In the case of (82) the addressee has painted his door some other color. From this it follows that in contrast must be a compatibility between drawn from the same oppositional one, the Correction can be predicted the Rejection is thus sufficient involved is not a binary one, the Correction can be predicted on

#### 6.4. Expanding Focus.

By Expanding Focus we understand meant to be added to the antecedent. Consider the following example:

- (83) presupposition of A:  
 John bought x; x  
 B: John not only bought x  
 B: Yes, but he also

Expanding Focus contains an element which indicates that he believes A's value for x. A's presupposition in this sense that it must be (partial) of Corrective Focus. Therefore it is applicable to Expanding Focus.

The following example gives Expanding Focus its scope:

- (84) John not only BOUGHT  
 LIVE in it.

(81) The number I have in mind is not EVEN.

(82) I have not painted my door YELLOW.

In (81) the addressee may rightly conclude that the correct property is 'odd', even when this is not made explicit in the Correction. This is of course due to the fact that *even-odd* constitutes a binary opposition. In the case of (82) the addressee may rightfully conclude that the speaker has painted his door some other colour.

From this it follows that in constructions of the form *not X but Y* there must be a compatibility between X and Y in the sense that these must be drawn from the same oppositional dimension. If that dimension is a binary one, the Correction can be predicted on the basis of the Rejection, and the Rejection is thus sufficient in itself. But even if the dimension involved is not a binary one, the type of predicate to be expected in the Correction can be predicted on the basis of the Rejection.

#### 6.4. Expanding Focus.

By Expanding Focus we understand cases in which the Focus information is meant to be added to the antecedently given presupposed information. Consider the following example:

(83) presupposition of A:

John bought x; x = coffee

B: John not only bought COFFEE, he also bought RICE

B: Yes, but he also bought RICE

Expanding Focus contains an element of correction in this sense that B indicates that he believes A's information is incomplete with respect to the value for x. A's presupposition, however, is not incorrect in the sense that it must be (partially or wholly) replaced, as in the other types of Corrective Focus. Therefore, the label +Corrective is less clearly applicable to Expanding Focus than to the other cases to be discussed below.

The following example gives Expanding Focus with the predicate in its scope:

(84) John not only BOUGHT the house, he's also going to LIVE in it.

We see no clear application of Expanding Focus to cases where the whole predication is in scope.

#### 6.5. Restricting Focus.

Restricting Focus is a type of Focus by which an antecedently given presupposed set is restricted to one or more correct values.

Consider the following example:

- (85) presupposition of A:  
       John bought x; x = coffee and rice  
       B: No, he didn't buy RICE, he only bought COFFEE  
       B: No, he only bought COFFEE

Restricting Focus clearly corrects the presupposed information of A, in that at least one value for x is explicitly or implicitly rejected as incorrect.

Restricting Focus with the predicate in scope is found in:

- (86) No, John only BOUGHT the house, he is not actually going to LIVE in it.

Again, we see no application for Restricting Focus with the whole predication in scope.

#### 6.6. Parallel Focus.

We speak of Parallel Focus in cases in which a speaker contrasts two pieces of information within one linguistic expression, as in:

- (87) JOHN bought a BIKE, but PETER a CAR

In such a case each of the capitalized items has Focus function, but this is occasioned by the internal relations between the contrasted pairs (JOHN, BIKE) and (PETER, CAR) rather than by any specific relationship with the presumed pragmatic information of the addressee. The Focussed items in this case do not necessarily reject or correct anything in the pragmatic information of the addressee, although the Parallel Focus construction may be used in a presuppositional context, as in:

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- (88) A: I know that John bought a Toyota. But who bought a Toyota?  
       B: JOHN bought a TOYOTA

The point is, however, that Focus is determined by relations between the speaker's presuppositions, but by the relation of predication proper.

(88) is thus also an example of Parallel Focus. Parallel Focus involves strong parallelism between constituents which pairwise below have the same functional status, (see below) take the same or consider the following examples from

- (89) ton Jakob egapesa,  
       the Jacob I-loved,  
       'Jacob I loved, Esau I hated'

- (90) to men soma nekron  
       the body dead  
       pneuma zoe dia dikas  
       spirit live through righteousness  
       'The body is dead through sin, but the spirit is alive through righteousness'

Notice that in (90) there are two parallelisms: opposition between the two members of the contrast, signaled by *de* in (89), and by *men* in (90).

Notice that in all examples giving a preferred P1 position for placing on again, that P1 is a preferred position in this respect the difference between

- (91) I met JOHN in PARIS,  
       JOHN I met in PARIS,

- (88) A: I know that John and Peter bought a Volkswagen and  
a Toyota. But who bought what ?  
B: JOHN bought a TOYOTA, and PETER a VOLKSWAGEN

The point is, however, that Focus function in such a case is not occasioned by relations between the speaker's assertion and the addressee's pre-suppositions, but by the relationships of contrast internal to the predication proper.

(88) is thus also an example of a case in which Focus is assigned to constituents which in themselves do not provide 'new' information. Parallel Focus involves strong parallelisms between two or more pairs of constituents which pairwise belong to the same semantic category, usually have the same functional status, and often (except in the case of chiasmus, see below) take the same ordering in their respective domains. Consider the following examples from New Testament Greek:

- (89) ton Jakob egapesa, ton de Esau emisesa  
the Jacob I-loved, the Esau I-hated  
'Jacob I loved, Esau I hated'

- (90) to men soma nekron dia hamartian, to de  
the body dead through sin the  
pneuma zoe dia dikaiosunen  
spirit live through righteousness  
'The body is dead through sin, but the spirit is alive  
through righteousness'

Notice that in (90) there are three pairs of parallel constituents. The opposition between the two members of the parallel construction is signaled by *de* in (89), and by *men ... de* ('on the one hand ... on the other hand') in (90).

Notice that in all examples given here and below, use is made of the initial P1 position for placing one pair of parallel constituents. This shows, again, that P1 is a preferred position for Focus constituents. Compare in this respect the difference between:

- (91) I met JOHN in PARIS, and PETER in MADRID  
(92) JOHN I met in PARIS, and PETER in MADRID



Although (91) is certainly grammatical in English, (92) impresses us as more idiomatic in the case of the parallel construction. As far as the expression of constructions with Parallel Focus is concerned, asyndeton (absence of overt coordinators) seems to be used rather frequently for this purpose in quite different languages. Compare the following examples:

- (93) *Speiretai en astheneiai, egeiretai en dunamsei* (NT Greek)  
it-is-sown in weakness, it-is-awakened in strength
- (94) *Tu fortunatus, ego miser* (Latin, Plautus)  
you fortunate, I miserable  
'You are fortunate, I am miserable'
- (95) *Bapak orang besar, saya orang kecil* (Indonesian)  
father man big I man small  
'You sir, are an important person, I am but an ordinary man'

A device with a strong stylistic effect, greatly appreciated in classical antiquity, was the so-called figure of *chiasmus* in which the members of the parallel pairs were arranged crosswise in A - B, B - A fashion. Consider the following examples from Cicero and from Varro:

- (96) *assequor omnia, si propero, si cunctor, omitto*  
I-reach everything, if I-hasten, if I-linger, I-lose
- (97) *lucifer interdiu, noctu hesperus*  
morning star by-day, by-night evening star

## 7. Formal treatment within FG.

In this final section we discuss some aspects of the question how the different types of Focus configuration distinguished earlier in this paper could be formally handled within a Functional Grammar.<sup>5</sup> Since this question is naturally quite complicated, we shall restrict ourselves to one construction in Dutch, which, however, illustrates most of the problems involved. Consider the following cases:

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- (98) Jan heeft Piet niet het BC  
John has Pete not the BC  
'John has not given Pete t
- (99) Niet het BOEK heeft Jan P:  
Not the BOOK has John :
- (100) Jan heeft Piet niet het B  
John has Pete not the E
- (101) Niet het BOEK, maar de PI  
Not the BOOK, but the I

These are four variants of a construction made earlier in this paper, we could say. This construction involves two Focus constituents in Contrast with each other. The specific presupposition:

- (102) Jan heeft Piet het boek  
'John has given Pete the book'

The construction is Corrective: the Focus in the pragmatic information of the sentence is to replace the information *het boek* assumed to be contained in the addresser's presupposition *de plaat*. Construction (98) is a Rejective Focus. Replacing Focus in the Rejection (represented by *niet* in (98) and *maar de PLAAT* in (102)). Given the principles of FG, Focus in (98) is *boek* and to *de plaat*. This is necessary to specify the pragmatic status of the construction. The tonational prominence of these constituents in order to be able to specify the constituents.

Further, because of points (i) and (ii) we distinguish the Focus functions as *Contrast* and *Rejection* that, although they can both be used to specify salient information in the predi-

- (98) Jan heeft Piet niet het BOEK gegeven, maar de PLAAT.  
John has Pete not the BOOK given , but the RECORD.  
'John has not given Pete the BOOK, but the RECORD'
- (99) Niet het BOEK heeft Jan Piet gegeven, maar de PLAAT.  
Not the BOOK has John Pete given , but the RECORD.
- (100) Jan heeft Piet niet het BOEK, maar de PLAAT gegeven.  
John has Pete not the BOOK, but the RECORD given.
- (101) Niet het BOEK, maar de PLAAT heeft Jan Piet gegeven  
Not the BOOK, but the RECORD has John Pete given

These are four variants of a construction which, in terms of distinctions made earlier in this paper, we could characterize as follows: this construction involves two Focus constituents (*het BOEK*, *de PLAAT*), which are in Contrast with each other. The Contrast involves the following specific presupposition:

- (102) Jan heeft Piet het boek gegeven  
'John has given Pete the book'

The construction is Corrective: the speaker wishes to effect some change in the pragmatic information of the addressee; more specifically, he wishes to replace the information *het boek* in presupposition (102), which he presumes is contained in the addressee's pragmatic information, by the information *de plaat*. Construction (98) is thus an example of Replacing Corrective Focus. Replacing Focus involves two distinct acts of the speaker: the Rejection (represented by *niet het BOEK*) and the Correction (represented by *maar de PLAAT*).

Given the principles of FG, Focus function must be assigned both to *het boek* and to *de plaat*. This is necessary (i) in order to specify the special pragmatic status of the construction, (ii) in order to account for the intonational prominence of these constituents (contrastive stress), (iii) in order to be able to specify the special positional properties of these constituents.

Further, because of points (i) and (iii), we also have to be able to distinguish the Focus functions as assigned to these two constituents: we saw that, although they can both be said to represent 'the most important or salient information in the predication', they do so on different grounds:

*het boek* directs the addressee towards that piece of information which is going to be replaced (we can here speak of Replacing Focus); *de plaat* gives the information which has to be substituted for *het boek* (this we can call Correcting Focus).

And as we can see from (98)-(101), the constituents carrying the Replacing Focus (RF) and the Correcting Focus (CF) have different privileges of occurrence within the clause. The relevant rules can be given as follows:

- (R) (a) place RF + CF in the appropriate pattern position (100);
- (b) place RF + CF in P1 position (101);
- (c) place RF in pattern position, CF at the end of the clause (98);
- (d) place RF in P1 position, CF at the end of the clause (99).

As long as RF and CF stay together, as in (a) and (b), placement rules could globally refer to *niet het boek, maar de plaat* as a unit; but when they are separated in the constituent order of the clause (as in (c) and (d)), placement rules must be able to pick out the correct subpart and bring it to its place in the clause.

In principle, correct results could be achieved even if only one undifferentiated Focus function is used. We would then get representations of the form:

(103) *niet (het boek)<sub>Foc</sub> maar (de plaat)<sub>Foc</sub>*

and placement rules would have to be formulated in such a way that they can contextually identify the correct Focus constituent within configurations such as (103) for proper treatment. However, this would require rather complex context-dependent statements for the rules involved.

A simpler solution, then, is to accept RF and CF as sub-functions of the general Focus function, and to have these subfunctions properly assigned to their respective constituents. Later rules can then directly refer to these subfunctions without taking the context into account (for discussion of this question, see Watters 1979).

A last question is: how do we generate configurations such as (103)? Within a transformational framework, it would of course be attractive to derive such constructions as (98)-(101) from some underlying representation of the form:

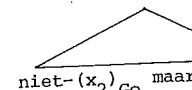
#### TYPOLGY OF FOCUS

(104) Jan heeft Piet niet het boek  
Piet) de plaat (gegeven)

through some form of Conjunction Red FG, however, because this model does require changing operations required in 9, argues that constructions with the 'Gapping' constructions should be less than of reduction. The expansion and very general coordination schema:

(105)  $\alpha \rightarrow \alpha^1, \alpha^2, \dots, \alpha^n$

which, operating on some element  $\alpha$ , series of coordinated elements of  $t$  will have to be specified (a) with can take, and (b) with respect to  $v$  elements may or must appear in coordination. Adapting this approach to the present at a description in which a given immediately expanded into a configuration the specific case of our examples, led in:

(106) *geven<sub>v</sub> (x<sub>1</sub>)<sub>Ag</sub> (x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Go</sub>*  
  
*niet-(x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Go</sub> maar-*

This effect can be reached by formal coordination schema:

(107)  $\alpha \rightarrow \text{niet-} \alpha^1 \text{ maar -}$

and by allowing  $\alpha$  to take any term (or terms) as its possible value. Note the advantage that it automatically excludes matching functions, such as:

- (104) Jan heeft Piet niet het boek gegeven, maar (Jan heeft Piet) de plaat (gegeven)

through some form of Conjunction Reduction. This course is excluded in FG, however, because this model does not allow one to formulate the structure-changing operations required in this treatment. Dik (1980), chapter 9, argues that constructions with term coordinations as well as so-called 'Gapping' constructions should be handled in terms of expansion rather than of reduction. The expansion analysis is formulated in terms of a very general coordination schema:

- (105)  $\alpha \rightarrow \alpha^1, \alpha^2, \dots, \alpha^n \quad (n > 2)$

which, operating on some element  $\alpha$ , expands this element into an n-ary series of coordinated elements of the same type. This coordination schema will have to be specified (a) with respect to the possible values that  $\alpha$  can take, and (b) with respect to what sorts of overt coordinating elements may or must appear in coordinated series of different types. Adapting this approach to the present construction type, we would arrive at a description in which a given term position, representing  $\alpha$ , could be immediately expanded into a configuration of the form *niet*  $\alpha^1$  *maar*  $\alpha^2$ . In the specific case of our examples, we would need an expansion as represented in:

- (106)  $\text{geven}_V (x_1)_{Ag} \quad (x_2)_{Go} \quad (x_3)_{Rec}$
- 
- niet-(x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Go</sub>    maar-(x<sub>2</sub>)<sub>Go</sub>

This effect can be reached by formulating (107) as a subcase of the general coordination schema:

- (107)  $\alpha \rightarrow \text{niet-} \alpha^1 \text{ maar -} \alpha^2$

and by allowing  $\alpha$  to take any term position (including its semantic function) as its possible value. Notice that this approach has the added advantage that it automatically excludes constructions with terms with non-matching functions, such as:



- (108) John did not read the book with pleasure, but with his girl friend.
- (109) John did not wait on the platform, but for three hours

(see Dik, *ibid.*, for further discussion of these points).

The final question now is: how to assign the pragmatic functions RF and CF in the proper way to the relevant subparts of the configuration introduced by rule (107). One possibility is to formulate pragmatic function assignment rules operating on the output of this rule, contextually specified to achieve the correct result. However, since rule (107) is associated with a unique distribution of these pragmatic functions (i.e., RF will necessarily attach to the first part, and CF to the last part of its output), a simpler solution would be to have the rule itself attach these pragmatic functions to its output constituents. This can be done by reformulating (107) as follows:

- (110)  $\alpha \rightarrow \text{niet-}\alpha^1_{\text{RF}} \text{ maar-}\alpha^2_{\text{CF}}$

In this way, then, we define the following derivation for the constructions (98)-(101):

Start with the predicate-frame for *geven* 'to give':

- (111)  $\text{geven}_V (x_1)_{\text{Ag}} (x_2)_{\text{Go}} (x_3)_{\text{Rec}}$

Apply schema (110) to the Goal argument position in (111), to produce:

- (112)  $\text{geven}_V (x_1)_{\text{Ag}} \text{ niet-}(x_2)_{\text{GoRF}} \text{ maar-}(x_2)_{\text{GoCF}} (x_3)_{\text{Rec}}$

Apply term insertion and syntactic function assignment<sup>6</sup>, so as to arrive at:

- (113)  $\text{geven}_V (\text{Jan})_{\text{AgSubj}} \text{ niet-}(\text{het boek})_{\text{GoRF}} \text{ maar-}(\text{de plaat})_{\text{GoCF}} (\text{Piet})_{\text{RecObj}}$

Sentences (98)-(101) can now be derived from this underlying predication by applying expression rules which will properly specify both the form and the order of the constituents. RF and CF will lead to contrastive stress on *boek* and *plaat* in any realization of (113). And placement rules corres-

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ponding to (R) (a)-(d) formulated above w  
tients of (113) to their possible positio

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ways in order to accomodate the differen  
distinguished in this paper, we trust th  
basic elements for answering the questio  
be formally handled within a Functional

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>For a recent attempt to arrive at a notion Topic, see Reinhart (1980). Topic in the present paper.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of these construct of. Dik (1980), ch. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Compare Dik (1980), ch. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Quirk et al. (1972: 939) use the term case where the Focus constituent 'fills' the addressee, as in:

(i) (Who was born in Swansea ?)

and for the case in which the Focus cc piece of information, as in:

(ii) DYLAN Thomas was born in Sw

As is clear from our discussion we be more carefully distinguished, and the sense in which contrast is relevant t

<sup>5</sup>For a more extensive discussion o

<sup>6</sup>Syntactic function assignment must be done in a way that parallel term positions intral fashion with respect to the sy

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# TYPOLOGY OF FOCUS

ponding to (R) (a)-(d) formulated above will properly carry the constituents of (113) to their possible positions within the clause.

Although this approach would have to be refined and specified in several ways in order to accommodate the different types of Focus construction distinguished in this paper, we trust that the above sketch gives the basic elements for answering the question of how such constructions could be formally handled within a Functional Grammar.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>For a recent attempt to arrive at a more precise definition of the notion Topic, see Reinhart (1980). Topic will not be further considered in the present paper.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of these constructions within the framework of FG, cf. Dik (1980), ch. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Compare Dik (1980), ch. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Quirk et al. (1972: 939) use the term 'Contrastive Focus' both for the case where the Focus constituent 'fills in' a gap in the information of the addressee, as in:

(i) (Who was born in Swansea ?) Dylan THOMAS was (born in Swansea)

and for the case in which the Focus constituent is meant to replace some piece of information, as in:

(ii) DYLAN Thomas was born in Swansea (not EDWARD Thomas)

As is clear from our discussion we believe that these two cases must be more carefully distinguished, and that in (i) there is no contrast in the sense in which contrast is relevant to (ii).

<sup>5</sup>For a more extensive discussion of this problem, see De Vries (1980).

<sup>6</sup>Syntactic function assignment must be properly constrained in such a way that parallel term positions introduced by (110) are treated in parallel fashion with respect to the syntactic functions Subject and Object.

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## On Theme in Functions *An Application to some Constructions in*

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### 0. Introduction

In Functional Grammar one of the pragmatic functions. These functions manifest themselves within the wider communicative functions. These functions are distinguished into two internal (Topic and Focus) and two external (Theme and Rheme). Theme and Focus are defined as follows:

Theme: The Theme specifies the subject of the subsequent predication

Topic: The Topic presents the entity about which something is said in a given context

Focus: The Focus presents what is new information in the given context

I illustrate here the functions of Theme and Focus.

- (1) That trunk, put it in the trunk.
- (2) As for Paris, the Eiffel Tower is very high.

Themes are *that trunk* and *as for Eiffel Tower*. The Theme constituents of the two sentences are going to bear the same function, namely, they are the entity about which the predication is made.

For certain sentences beginning with a Theme, the Theme is extracted from the sentence and placed at the beginning of the sentence.